

Message Text

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SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /089 W

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1278

SECDEF WASHDC

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0533

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE NAC

BEGIN SUMMARY. AT ITS NOVEMBER 12 MEETING THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED IN GENERAL TERMS THE FOLLOWING OUTLINE FOR USE BY CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) IN MAKING REGULAR AHG ORAL REPORT TO NAC NOVEMBER 14. GRANDE WILL BE ASSISTED BY THE UK REP (ROSE) AND THE ACTING NORWEGIAN REP (BRYNTESEN). GRANDE WILL DRAW ON MATERIAL IN THE OUTLINE, NOT NECESSARILY USING IT IN FULL. UNLIKE WRITTEN REPORTS TO NAC, THE AD HTC GROUP DOES NOT UNDERTAKE A WORD-FOR-WORD APPROVAL OF THESE OUTLINES, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED AS SPEAKING NOTES. THE TEXT OF CANADIAN REP'S REPORT IS TRANSMITTED BELOW.
END SUMMARY.

DRAFT REPORT TO NAC - NOVEMBER 14, 1975

1. THIS REPORT COVERS 3-WEEK PERIOD SINCE OUR LAST BRIEFING OF NAC ON OCTOBER 24.

2. DOMINANT FEATURES

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A. POST-CSCE EXPECTATIONS STILL BEING MENTIONED

BY WP SIDE, E.G. QUOTING BREZHNEV.

B. EAST STILL WAITING FOR AN IMPORTANT MOVE ON OUR PART.

C. THEREFORE NOT AN EVENTFUL PERIOD - NO PROGRESS.

D. DISCUSSION ON DEFINITIONS CONTINUED AT ALTERNATE INFORMAL MEETINGS BUT WE ARE NOT ANY CLOSER TO A DATA DISCUSSION OR TO AN AGREED DEFINITION.

3. REVIEW OF PLENARY STATEMENTS

THERE HAVE BEEN TWO EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENTS AND ONE WESTERN ONE IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW.

IN HIS PLENARY STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 30 KHLESTOV COVERED THE WHOLE FIELD OF SO-CALLED EASTERN INITIATIVES AFTER REFERRING TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND YEAR OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS (WHICH HE SAID WAS TIME ENOUGH TO WORK OUT AN AGREEMENT) AND THE DEEPENING OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, PARTICULARLY AS A RESULT OF THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE. HE QUOTED PART OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THEN REFERRED TO THE JUNE 1973 COMMUNIQUE PRINCIPLES, THE EAST'S 8TH OF NOVEMBER 1973 DRAFT AGREEMENT, THEIR INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL, THEIR NON-INCREASE PROPOSAL, THEIR AGREEMENT TO HAVE THE U.S. AND SOVIET UNION REDUCE FIRST, AND FINALLY, THEIR REVISED DEFINITION OF WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED GROUND AND WHAT AIR. KHLESTOV THEN ATTACKED WESTERN POSITIONS ON ALL FRONTS -- OUR BELITTling OF THE JUNE 1973 AGREED PRINCIPLES, OUR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGE, THEIR FIRM OPPOSITION TO ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS TO OUR PROPOSED COMMON CEILING AND ITS COLLECTIVE NATURE, AND TO OUR INCLUSION OF GROUND FORCES ONLY IN REDUCTIONS. FURTHER, HE AGAIN ATTACKED THE WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND CANADA FOR REFUSING TO UNDERTAKE FROM THE OUTSET SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS AS TO THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS.

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KHLESTOV ALSO, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A PLENARY, ACCUSED THE WEST OF BLOCKING PROGRESS IN WORKING OUT AN AGREED DEFINITION OF FORCES BY REFUSING TO ACCEPT THE EASTERN PRINCIPLE THAT FORCES OF THE SAME TYPE SHOULD, FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, BE ALLOCATED AS BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR FORCES ON A SIMILAR BASIS.

THE WEST'S PLENARY STATEMENT ON NOVEMBER 6 WAS DELIVERED BY MY U.K. COLLEAGUE, AMBASSADOR ROSE. HIS STATEMENT REVIEWED IN SOME DETAIL THE LOGIC FOR, AND RATIONALE BEHIND, THE WESTERN CONCERN OVER THE QUESTION OF DISPARITIES IN SUPPORT OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR A COMMON CEILING. IN ADDITION, REFERENCE WAS MADE TO THE ALLIED POSITION ON SAFE-GUARDING FLANK SECURITY. WE ALSO SAID THAT WE STILL AWAIT AN EASTERN RESPONSE TO OUR PROPOSAL ON FLANK SECURITY ADVANCED BY THE U.S. REP ON 17 JULY, 1975. FURTHER, OUR STATEMENT ANSWERED KHLESTOV'S CRITICISM THAT DISPARITIES WERE "AN ARTIFICIAL CONCEPTION" CONCEIVED BY THE WEST AND WENT ON TO EXPRESS OUR GROWING CONCERN ABOUT INCREASING EASTERN DISTORTIONS, THROUGH SELF-SERVING INTERPRETATIONS, OF THE JUNE 1973 AGREED PRINCIPLES. IN ADDITION, AMBASSADOR ROSE'S STATEMENT COUNTERED KHLESTOV'S ARGUMENTATION THAT A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING WITHOUT NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS WOULD CREATE A LOOPHOLE WHICH, KHLESTOV SAID, WOULD ALLOW A "LEGAL" BASIS FOR THE FRG, FOR EXAMPLE, TO INCREASE ITS MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. WE STATED THAT THE MEMBERS OF NATO INTEND TO MAINTAIN THEIR FREEDOM TO DETERMINE BETWEEN THEMSELVES THE COMPOSITION OF THEIR INTEGRATED COLLECTIVE DEFENSE AND THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD INTERFERE WITH THE WORKING OF NATO'S INTEGRATED, MULTINATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM OR WHICH WOULD PREJUDICE THE FUTURE ORGANIZATION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE -- BECAUSE SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD RESULT IN A DIMINUTION OF WESTERN SECURITY AS A WHOLE, AND THUS OF THE SECURITY OF INDIVIDUAL WESTERN PARTICIPANTS.

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AT THE REGULAR PRESS BRIEFING FOLLOWING THE NOVEMBER 6 PLENARY MEETING, THE EASTERN SPOKESMAN CHIDED WESTERN NEWSMEN FOR THEIR USE OF TERMS SUCH AS "DEADLOCK" IN THEIR RECENT REPORTING ON WHAT WERE, AFTER ALL, VERY COMPLEX NEGOTIATIONS.

THE PLENARY STATEMENT ON NOVEMBER 13 WAS DELIVERED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF.....(MATERIAL TT BE ADDED BY GRANDE).

4. REVIEW OF INFORMAL MEETINGS

AT THESE MEETINGS THE EAST ISISTED ON STICKING TO THE AGREED PROCEDURE OF ALTERNATING BETWEEN GENERAL TOPICS AND A DEFINITION DISCUSSION, ALTHOUGH THEY, LIKE WE, WERE AWARE THAT THE GENERAL DISCUSSIONS WERE UNLIKELY TO BE PROFITABLE.

AT THE OCTOBER 28 INFORMAL MEETING THE SUBJECT MATTER WAS FORCE DEFINITION. THE DISCUSSION WAS IN-CONCLUSIVE. WE STARTED BY FOCUSING ON THE GENERAL INTRODUCTORY PART OF A POSSIBLE DEFINITION. WE COMPARED OUR FORMULATIONS ON INTRODUCTORY POINTS WITH THOSE IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE EAST'S REVISED DRAFT DEFINITION OF
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OCTOBER 14. THESE WERE:

A) THAT THERE SHOULD BE A DEFINITION;

B) THAT IT SHOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITIONS OF EITHER SIDE;

C) THAT IT SHOULD COVER ALL ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA, EXCEPT THE NAVY, AND ONLY

SUCH PERSONNEL; AND

D) THAT IT SHOULD DIVIDE ALL ACTIVE DUTY PERSONNEL BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR.

WHILE ADMITTING THAT PARTICIPANTS HAD SUCCEEDED IN ARRIVING AT A MORE OR LESS COMMON UNDERSTANDING ON SOME POINTS, KHESTOV STRESSED THE NEED TO AGREE TO THE SO-CALLED PRINCIPLE THAT SIMILAR TYPES OF FORCES SHOULD BE ALLOCATED TO THE SAME ARMED SERVICE. HE SAID THAT THE ALLIES WERE TRYING TO EVADE TAKING AN EXPLICIT POSITION ON THIS SUBJECT. IN TURN WE SAID WE WERE NOT PREPARED TO TAKE A DECISION ON THIS WITHOUT A PRIOR DISCUSSION OF DATA, WHICH THE EAST WOULD NOT AGREE TO HAVE AT THIS TIME.

THE INFORMAL SESSION OF NOVEMBER 11 REVERTED TO A DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS. (MATERIAL TO BE ADDED BY GRANDE).

NOVEMBER 4 INFORMAL ESSION WAS DEVOTED TO A GENERAL DISCUSSION WHICH DEVELOPED NO NEW PERSPECTIVES. THE EAST ACCUSED THE WEST OF:

A. ATTEMPTING TO CHANGE THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE;

B. REFUSING TO DECLARE WHAT CONCRETE REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS THEY WERE EACH READY TO ACCEPT;

C. WANTING THE RIGHT TO INCREASE THEIR MILITARY FORCES BY INSISTING ON HAVING A "COLLECTIVE
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CEILING;" AND

D. REFUSING TO CONSIDER REDUCTIONS OF ARMAMENTS.

EACH OF THE ABOVE CHARGES WAS ANSWERED IN TURN BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WEST. HOWEVER, THE EAST'S MAIN THRUST WAS ON THE SECONF FACTOR, THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES FROM THE OUTSET TO SPECIFIC REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS.

WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES REFUTED EASTERN CLAIMS THAT THE WEST WAS DEPARTIG FROM THE AGREED PRINCIPLES, CLAIMING THAT THE EASTERN INTERPRETATION OF PREPARATORY TALK DECISIONS WAS EXAGGERATED AND ONE-SIDELY IN FAVOR OF THE EAST. OUR REPRESENTATIVES ALSO SUMMARIZED THE WESTERN CASE FOR PHASING, DESCRIBED THE SEVERAL MOVES

THE WEST HAD MADE TO RESPOND TO EASTERN CONCERNS, AND STRESSED THE EQUITABLE NATURE OF WESTERN PROPOSALS WHEN CONSIDERED FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THEIR OUTCOME.

5. CONCLUSION

THE EASTERN SIDE IS STILL CONVINCED THAT AN IMPORTANT WESTERN MOVE IS FORTHCOMING AND IN SOME BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS TRYING TO DIMINISH THE IMPORTANCE OF SUCH A MOVE. NEVERTHELESS I BELIEVE THEY ARE INTERESTED IN IT AND THAT THEY ARE QUITE CONTENT TO AWAIT OUR MOVE WITHOUT ANY INITIATIVES OF THEIR OWN. ALSO, IN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES STILL STRESS THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF A COLLECTIVE CEILING ON EACH SIDE IN PARTICULAR BECAUSE, THEY SAY, THE BUNDESWEHR WOULD THUS BE ALLOWED TO INCREASE ITS FORCES AFTER REDUCTIONS EVEN ABOVE THE PRESENT LEVELS.

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P R 121900Z NOV 75

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ON DEFINITIONS, THE EAST PROFESS NOT TO UNDERSTAND OUR LOGIC IN REFUSING TO AGREE TO KHLESTOV'S THIRD PRINCIPLE THAT SIMILAR TYPES OF FORCES SHOULD BE ALLOCATED TO THE SAME ARMED SERVICE. THEY CHARGE THAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO CREATE A PRE-CONDITION BY INSISTING

ON A PRIOR DATA EXCHANGE.

6. WE HAVE BEEN ASKED BY THE AHG TO DISCUSS WITH THE COUNCIL:

A) THE DATE OF THE NEXT AHG REPORT TO NAC;

B) WHETHER A WRITTEN AHG REPORT IS REQUIRED FOR USE IN PREPARATION FOR THE MINISTERIAL MEETINGS;

C) WHETHER AN END-OF-ROUND REPORT IS ALSO REQUIRED AND, IF SO, WHETHER THE COUNCIL PREFERS IT TO BE A WRITTEN ONE OR IN THE FORM OF AN ORAL BRIEFING.

IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS DEPEND, TO A VERY LARGE EXTENT, ON THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE AHG WILL RECEIVE GUIDANCE ON OPTION 3 FOR ACTION BEFORE THE END OF THIS ROUND. THIS IN TURN MEANS THAT WE WILL HAVE TO RECEIVE IT
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BY ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 8TH ID WE ARE TO USE IT THIS ROUND. THE DATES BEING SUGGESTED BY THE WP SIDE FOR THE LAST PLENARY MEETING ARE DECEMBER 11 OR DECEMBER 18.

ASSUMING WE DO GET OPTION 3 GUIDANCE ON TIME, OUR SUGGESTION IS THAT THE NEXT BRIEFING COULD BE ON DECEMBER 5TH AND, IF THE COUNCIL SO WISHES, OUR SPOKESMAN COULD THEN PRESENT A WRITTEN REPORT FOR USE IN PREPARATION FOR THE MINISTERIAL MEETINGS. IN ADDITION THE AHG COULD SEND NAC A WRITTEN REPORT AT THE END OF THE ROUND, SAY ON DECEMBER 19.

IF WE DO NOT RECEIVE OPTION 3 GUIDANCE OR USE IN THIS ROUND, OUR SUGGESTION WOULD STILL BE THAT THE NEXT BRIEFING BE ON DECEMBER 5 AND AS ABOVE, IF THE COUNCIL SO WIEHES, OUR SPOKESMAN COULD STILL PRESENT A WRITTEN REPORT FOR USE IN PREPARATION FOR THE MINISTERIAL MEETINGS. AS OUR CURRENT ROUND WOULD THEN PROBABLY END ON DECEMBER 11, THERE WOULD PRESUMABLY THEN BE NO NEED FOR AN ADDITIONAL END-OF-ROUND REPORT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING REPORTS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 NOV 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MBFRV00533
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750394-1127
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751150/aaaabsxz.tel
Line Count: 379
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02 APR 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <17 SEP 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE NAC BEGIN SUMMARY. AT ITS NOVEMBER 12 MEETING THE AD HOC
TAGS: PARM, CA, UK, NO, NATO, NAC, MBFR, (GRANDE), (ROSE), (BRYNTESEN)
To: NATO BRUSSELS
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006